THE

Hindu Message

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The Hindu Message stands for

(1) Self-Government for India within the British Commonwealth,

(2) Co-operation with the different communities of India without prejudice to Hindu Dharma,

(3) Education of the Hindus as an integral part of the Indian Nation,

(4) Advancement of Material prosperity on a spiritual basis and

(5) Dissemination of pure Hindu Culture.

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A Vision of India.

INDIAN COLONISATION.

By K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, B.A., B.L.

Like full moon with attendant silver star
  Are India and the island of Ceylon.
  Our land is Bharat Mata's golden throne.
The isle is her child's radiant golden car.
And Burma bright, fast friend in peace and war,
  With love in heart and loving cheer in tone,
  Stands close by her and unto all makes known
Her loyal homage which no power can mar.
And east and west and north and south the thought
  Of India with its subtle prowess gone
  On wings of peace unto the ends of earth
Her inner gifts to all the nations brought
  The morning tints of culture's breaking dawn
  And love of God and Man did bring to birth.

Great Thoughts.

[From Tukaram's *Abhangs.*]

In God, in God—forget him not !—
  Do thou thy refuge find.
Let every other plan or plot
  Go with the wind !
Why toil for nought ? Wake, wake from sleep
  By learning's load weighed down,
Thou in the world's abysses deep
  Art like to drown.
O, flee fron thence. Only by faith
  Canst thou to God attain.
And all thy knowledge, Tuka saith,
  Will prove in vain.

* * *

Honour, dishonour that men may pay,
Bundle them up and throw them away,
Where there is ever a steadfast mind,
There thou the vision of God shalt find.
Whereso the fountains of peace abide,
Stayed is the passage of time and tide.
Calm thou the impulse that stirs thy breast;
Surely, says Tuka, a small request.

* * *

Ah, wherefore fast or wherefore go
  To solitude apart ?
Whether thou joy or sorrow know
  Have God within thy heart.
If in his mother's arms he be
  The child knows nought amiss.
Cast out, yea, cast out utterly
  All other thought than this.
Love not the world nor yet forsake
  Its gifts in fear and hate.
Thy life to God an offering make
  And to him dedicate.
Nay, Tuka says, ask not again,
  Waking old doubts anew.
Whatever else is taught by men,
  None other word is true.

Events of the Week

The Hon. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Minister for Education in Bengal, has issued a circular letter to his brother Ministers in the other provinces, suggesting the convening of a conference wherein questions of policy relating to most of the outstanding problems of administration may be discussed, to arrive at definite plans of common action. It is well that one at least of the Ministers has come to realise the real position of his office and has taken it into his head to consult his comrades in the other provincial Governments as to what course of action they should adopt in future. Their position in the Council carries with it a dual responsibility, harnessed as they are to office under a system of diarchical government. They owe their position to the vote of the electorate; they are there, by virtue of their having been elected as members of the Legislative Council. Consequently they owe a duty to the electorate. As elected members they are in a sense representatives of the people who sent them in. At the same time, in justice to the office they have been called upon to accept, they are in the confidence of the Government. The Ministers, as representatives of the people, enjoying the confidence of the Government are in the nature of things, expected to take up the popular side on every political issue and stand up for the rights of the people against the claims of the bureaucracy. But all along up till now, they have as a class been weak-kneed, succumbing to the will of the bureaucracy whom they consider as their real master, while the united voice of the nation whom they treat with lofty contempt from their high pedestal, has been entirely neglected. One would expect the Ministers to resign their post, when the Government embarked on a policy of repression and tyranny. But what we have witnessed to our bitter disillusionment during the past three and odd years of Reformed rule is, that the Ministers have all through supported the Government in their reactionary policy and stuck to their posts like leeches. No qualms of conscience, no notions of national honour, no ideas of patriotic zeal have stood in their path—in their playing second fiddle to the Government's tune. These evils must be the experience of every member who has had anything to do with the reformed administration in the Provinces. If the deliberations of Mr. Huq's proposed conference are dircted towards seeking remedies for such of these evils mentioned above as also for others of a similar nature, then no one would venture to question the justification for the holding of such a Conference.

* * *

The Province of Berar as is well known to every one who has studied the History of India even cursorily, was taken over by the British administrators from the Nizam. His Exalted Highness is now covetous to have this province back for himself and with this object in view has addressed the Viceroy and through him the Secretary of State. Sir Ali Imam, who served the Nizam as his Prime Minister is now engaged in the task of advocating his master's claims to take over charge of the administration of this province. In order that the Government of India may be deluded into the fond belief that the people of Berar would be the better for the change—His Exalted Highness, gives, in the course of his letter to the Viceroy on the subject, a sort of promise that he is prepared to "concede to them (the people of the Berars) on the restoration of the province larger cooperation in the administration than at present enjoyed anywhere in British India." The promise is as vague as the preamble to the Reformed Government of India Act. It would be interesting, however, to watch how the Government of India is going to take the left-handed compliment contained in the above promise—that the people of the Berars would be given "larger cooperation in the administration than is enjoyed anywhere in British India." That is a doubtful compliment which Lord Reading's Government would surely resent. Besides the 'bonafides' of the Nizam are also open to question. His administration of the Hyderabad State has been more closely related to the Governance of Russia in the pre-war days under the Czar than to any principles of civilized statecraft. Recently we have seen how he has been, from His exalted place, issuing Firman after Firman prohibiting the entry of all Newspapers of a Nationalistic policy into his State. Not one paper of the sort advocating advanced political views has ben allowed to cross the borders of his land. Further instances have not been wanting wherein people have been banished from his state for very trivial offences. Similarly outsiders have been forbidden from entering his territories. With such a record of administrative exploits, it is amusing to see the Nizam coming forth with a promise of giving greater cooperation to the Berar people in the administration. In the first place let him mend his present affairs before the restoration of the Berars could be thought of. In the second place, would the people of Berars themselves like the change? Have they no voice in determining the sort of administration to which they are to be subjected? It is to be hoped the Government of India and the Secretary of State would take into consideration this second factor also, in the final disposal of this matter, if at all the question is not dismissed on the first issue itself—viz., —the Nizam's administrative record.

* * *

Speaking at the Madras Trades Association's Annual Dinner at the Hotel D'Angelis His Excellency Lord Willingdon bestowed his "Farewell benediction" on the people of Madras. The Chairman of the meeting in the course of his introductory remarks, while proposing the toast of "the Government of Madras and our Governor" drew pointed attention to the great interest which Their Excellencies have taken in the matter of racing. He said that it was something far more than mere sport. It was the greatest encouragement to the important national industry of horse-breeding. In the course of his reply to the toast, the Governor unburdened himself. He claimed that he had instituted this vice of racing, so that people may "face temptation, resist and overcome it" It is only that way that the Governor hoped to raise a strong and self-reliant nation. H. E. Lord Willingdon claims that he has built up the Guindy Races, out of a stern and compelling sense of public duty. We are not reluctant to allow His Excellency to derive what little gratification he may from this claim to the gratitude of the people of Madras. We do not deny him that pleasure. But what we cannot allow to pass without a word of protest is the outrageous claim that is put forward that all this was done with a view to test the public's capacity to resist and overcome temptation. That is a code of morality which could not be tolerated even though they may emanate from gubernatorial lips.

* * *

We agree with *The Indian Social Reformer* in its pertinent remarks on the sacrilege that was being committed on the tomb of Tutankhamen. It says:—One of the first acts of the Egyptian Nationalist Government is peremptorily to stop the disgusting sacrilege which, under the name of archæology, was being perpetrated by English explorers (or rather exploiters) in breaking open the tomb of Tutankhamen supposed to be the nephew of the Pharaoh who carried the Jews into captivity and set them to make bricks without straw, and from whose tyranny Moses freed his people by leading them out of Egypt. The morbid curiosity or love of scientific notoriety, which prompted this loathsome enterprise, might, if left unchecked, lead to the Taj Mahal or Akbar's tomb being opened some day to "discover", in the interests of Science, of course, what there is underneath them of the grace which captivated Shah Jehan or the power of the great Moghul. Why should the tomb of Tutankhamen be exposed to an exploration which would be considered an outrage if undertaken on the tomb of Queen Elizabeth or Napoleon Bonaparte. By actions like these, Science verily pushes beyond her mark and becomes "procuress to the lords of Hell."

* * *

A Times of Ceylon cable says that Lord Chelmsford's name has been deleted from membership of the 1900 Club. This Club is one of the leading political clubs of the Unionists. The Club's ostracism of Lord Chelmsford is presumably an indication of the fact that he is losing his caste among the Conservatives, because of his having accepted office in a Labour Government.

The Hindu Message

Lord Olivier Speaks.

The eagerly awaited statement, by His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, on the Indian situation has now seen the light of day. As might have been expected the statement does not carry us even a step further in the matter of the establishment of full responsible government in this country. There is trotted out the same old bogey of disaster and chaos following the advent of Swaraj in this land. There is also noticeable the further fallacy that what little we have advanced in political matters is all due to the beneficent influence of the British occupation. These have become the slogan of almost every British Statesman's utterance, that it is unnecessary for us to labour much on this point to expose the hollowness of those statements. They have been exploded on several previous occasions, and therefore it is best we leave these arguments unnoticed.

But in justice to Lord Olivier and the Labour Party under which he has accepted office, it must be confessed that the statement of the Secretary of State does not lack its redeeming features. Apart from the vainglory and the characteristic scare of the British temperament to which attention has been drawn above, there are certain aspects of the utterance which are sure to inspire hope in the drooping heart of many a disappointed politician. We do not hesitate to give out as our considered opinion that the statement is not after all quite a disappointing one. It must be acknowledged that circumscribed as the Labour Party now is with limitations which it is powerless to rise above, with the chance of a certain defeat by a joint vote of a Liberal-cum-Conservative coalition, on any forward policy that Labour may choose to advocate, the Secretary of State has to speak under great restraint and could not have spoken out all that Labour would like to do for India.

In the first place Lord Olivier has well begun his statement with an open assertion that the Labour Party was glad Mahatma Gandhi was released because it was repugnant to human feeling to keep a man of his character under restraint. The mendacity of the Government of India has once again been laid bare. The Government of India—prestige-ridden as it always is,—would not confess the stern and compelling necessity occasioned by the Labour Party's orders from above. The illness of Mahatmaji came in as a Godsend to screen them from ignominy. But the Secretary of State has thought it fit to take the public into his confidence by giving out that the humane instincts of the Labour Party rebelled against keeping Mahatmaji any longer in jail. That is a confession of faith which does great credit to the Secretary of State and the Party to which he belongs. This must be a welcome sign of the attitude of the British Government as at present constituted.

In the second place it must be noted that Lord Olivier has laid low Sir Malcolm Hailey's new theory that Responsible Government does not amount to Dominion status. It would be remembered that the Home Member of the Government of India, while speaking on Pandit Motilal Nehru's amendment for a Round Table Conference, to Mr. Rangachari's resolution for a further advance on constitutional reforms, began to quibble about the meaning of Responsible and Dominion Government and went so far as to interpret that the preamble to the Government of India Act was deliberately framed with a view to shelve out Dominion status as out of the question. It is well that Lord Olivier in his pronouncement has made it clear and unequivocal that the aim of the Government is the same as that of the Swarajists—viz., the establishment of Responsible Dominion Government in India. The present position in the administration of the Government in India has also been admitted to be only transitional. That the Labour Party has always favoured the grant of Dominion Status to India is too well known to need reiteration. The resolution at the famous Scarborough Conference, by which Labour pledged itself to support India's claim for Self-determination, one would expect the Labour Party to give effect to when it has come to power. But as we have already pointed out the fact is that the Labour Party has not now come to power though it has come to office. Hence the power and strength to put into actual effect those pledges are sadly wanting. But as a Minister of His Majesty's Government Lord Olivier has definitely committed that Government to a policy which he admits to be identical with the policy of the Swarajists. That is a point which would redound to our advantage and should not be lightly passed over.

Thirdly, we have to draw attention to the fact that the Lloyd Georgian theory of the "Steel frame"— that notorious policy of holding India for and by the I. C. S.—has been given the go-by by Lord Olivier. "The maintenance in perpetuity of the British Service in India," Lord Olivier has declared in unmistakable terms as being impossible with "the ultimate idea of Indian Nationalist and Dominion Responsible Government." The British service in India, therefore must cease to exist in the near future if Swaraj is to be established. This is a further admission, His Majesty's Government has been committed to make by the Labour Party.

Lastly, Judging from the general tone of the speech as a whole we must say that the question of the Reforms is not entirely shut out. It has been said that "Lord Olivier has summarily rejected the idea of a Round Table Conference." Lord Olivier has merely said that the recommendations of any such Conference cannot be accepted as a new scheme by the Government for establishing now full

responsible Government. At the same time he has stated that the Government are prepared to avail themselves of the opportunity offered by the Swarajists to have an effectual consultation and to consider practical proposals. This we would venture to assert still leaves the door open for even the summoning of a Round Table Conference. The Government are only considering as to how best they could bring about the "effectual consultation with the Swarajists." The whole Scheme that may be adopted at a Round Table Conference, Lord Olivier is not prepared to accept on behalf of the Government. But that does not mean that the Round Table Conference is summarily rejected. We are of opinion that the Secretary of State is only thinking of the best method of approaching the Swarajists and that in the near future something in the nature of a Round Table Conference is bound to be called forth, if it all the Government's desire "to avail themselves of the Swarajist's disposition towards effectual consultation" is genuine, as we think it is, judging from the trend of the views expressed by Lord Olivier.

In conclusion, though Lord Olivier's Statement may not have inspired us with any enthusiastic hopes of an early achievement of Swaraj for this country, we should in justice say that it is by far the most frank, and clear defined statement of policy that has hitherto been made on behalf of His Majesty's Government on the administration of their Indian Empire.

The Philosophic Message of India.

By P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M. A.

Thompson and other modern physicists in performing experiments with rarified states of matter found that mass which modern science conceives as the absolute quantity of matter in a body increases as the body moves. Einstein from mathematical considerations has not only confirmed this but has arrived at a mathematical defnition of the mass of a body in terms of the energy of motion. Now how can mass be the quantity of matter and at the same time be due to the motion of a body. The motion of a body means that something moves. How can the thing that moves be the result of that very motion? We need not question the accuracy of the physical measurements of Thompson or the validity of the mathematical calculations of Einstein. The absurd, self-contradictory conclusion to which Western scientific theory is driven that matter is subject to motion and that motion is the cause of the very thing that moves and that increase of motion increases the mass of the thing that moves is due not to the defects of Western scientific or mathematical procedure but to the bad metaphysics underlying Western thought. In Europe, each department of knowledge is under the rule of the expert. The expert physicist or mathematician leaves metaphysics to the expert metaphysician and accepts his conclusions without questioning them. The metaphysician accepts the conclusions of the scientist or the mathematician, in his turn. But no one has the courage to consider science and metaphysics together and to find whether the ideas of both are compatible with each other. Each pulls in a different direction and the total progress is zero.

An analogy will bring home the morass in which European thought is entangled. Suppose you fall ill and wish to consult a doctor. Now doctors are all specialists. The expert in nervous diseases diagnoses your illness as belonging to his sphere and prescribes exercise and cold baths. But comes the specialist in heart-disease. He claims your symptoms as belonging to his province and prescribes rest and warm baths. The expert in one sphere is bound by the laws of the game not to interfere in another sphere. Between the two experts your fate is like that of the man with two wives; one wife desires to see you look young and vigorous and pulls out all your grey hairs; the other wishes to see you look old and venerable and plucks out all your black hairs, and between the two, you become as bald as the plucked fowl. So the metaphysician divides the world into mind and matter and defines matter as that which has a measurable mass; the scientific gentlemen ignore mind, for that belongs to the mind-specialist and measures mass and finds it a changeable thing, resulting from motion. And between the two, matter disappears. This is the consequence of the rule of the expert.

The procedure of Indian thinkers is otherwise. The Sankhya teacher analyses the mind; the Vaiseshika philosopher discusses the constitution of matter; Charaka explains the build of the body; Manu expounds the Dharma of men. None of these restricts himself to his special sphere. The whole range of human thought he considers with reference to his special subject. He starts from the same metaphysical bases as the rest and expounds his own special teachings so as not to contradict the common metaphysical basis of all Indian thought, the exposition of which is the object of this series of articles. Thus the difference between Purusha and Prakriti, the characteristics of each of these, their periodical coming together called earth-life, what happens to man during post-mortem states of existence, the absolute reign of the Law of Karma one little aspect of which alone Europe understands and propounds as the law of causation, the consummation of samsara in Moksha which is the goal of human life—these questions which form the philosophical message of India to the world and all of which have been answered alike by all schools of Indian thought constitute the basis of all the above Sastras. But before expounding them, we must consider the European concept of mind and note that it is as absurd and self-contradictory as the European concept of matter.

Social and Religous

The Bhagavad Gita.

With an English Exposition

By K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, B.A., B.L.

(The substance of the lectures delivered at the Students' Sanatana Dharma Sabha, Trichinopoly.)

ADHYAYA XI

(*Continued*)

श्रीभगवानुवाच—

सुदुर्दर्शमिदं रूपं दृष्टवानासि यन्मम ।
देवा अप्यस्य रूपस्य नित्यं दर्शनकाङ्क्षिणः ॥ ५२ ॥

The Blessed Lord said:

This form of mine which you have beheld

is very hard to see. Even the Devas (gods) ever long to behold this form.

NOTES:

1. Even the gods who have obtained their pure mind and senses and who are full of love for the Lord and of longing to behold His Universal form are unable to behold it, as it can be beheld only by a special bestowal of grace and vision by the Lord.

2. Hence it follows that men, who are not the gods नित्यपुण्यमूर्तयः (pure in form and essence) cannot behold the Lord. Only His perfect devotees, dowered with His grace and with perfect vision by Him, can behold the Lord.

नाहं वेदैर्न तपसा न दानेन न चेज्यया ।
शक्यं एवंविधो द्रष्टुं दृष्टवानसि मां यथा ॥ ५३ ॥

Neither by Vedas nor by austerities, nor by gifts nor by sacrifices can I behold in this form as thou hast beheld Me.

NOTES:

1. This verse sums up the idea stated in Verse 48 above.

2. A beautiful verse in the Srimad Bhagavatha says:

विद्यातपः प्राणनिरोधमैत्री
तीर्थाभिषेकव्रतदानजप्यैः ।
नात्यन्तशुद्धिं लभतेऽन्तरात्मा
यथा हृदिस्थे भगवत्यनन्ते ॥

भक्त्या त्वनन्यया शक्य अहमेवंविधोऽर्जुन ।
ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं च परन्तप ॥ ५४ ॥

But by unwavering and single-hearted devotion unto Me, O Arjuna, I may in this form be known and realised and attained in a relation of essential identity (entered into), O Parantapa.

NOTES:

1. He can be attained only by His giving himself to us out of His grace and drawing us into His divine nature in a relation of transcendental and blissfull oneness. The Katha Upanishad declares:

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यः न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनुं स्वाम् ॥

The Swetaswatara Upanishad says:

यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥

2. His grace is the fruit of our love and devotion. Our love is our search and our call; His response is His grace.

3. The import of the three words ज्ञातुं, द्रष्टुं and तत्त्वेन प्रवेष्टुं should not be missed. ज्ञातुं refers to seeing Him with the eye of scripture. द्रष्टुं refers to realising Him by Sravana, Manana and Nididhyasana. Sri Sankaracharya explains प्रवेष्टुं as मोक्षं गन्तुं (to attain Moksha). Sri Madhusoodana explains it as meaning मद्रूपतयैवाप्तुम् । Sankaracharya says that it means विदेहीभूय मदात्मनाऽवस्थातुम् । It seems to refer to Jivanmukti and Videhamukti.

मत्कर्मकृन्मत्परमो मद्भक्तः संगवर्जितः ।
निर्वैरः सर्वभूतेषु यः स मामेति पाण्डव ॥ ५५ ॥

He who does work for Me, who has Me as his supreme goal, who is devoted to me, who is free from attachment (to worldly things) and who bears no ill-will to any being, He attains Me, O Pandava.

NOTES:

1. Sri Ramanujacharya says that a devotee bears no ill will to any one because his joy and pain are due solely to loving and visioning God and to even temporary cessation of such visioning and because he realises that all are dependent on God and that his pain is not of other's making but of his own making and that hence there are no grounds whatever for ill-will to any one as being the cause of his pain. मत्संश्लेषवियोगैकसुखदुःखस्वभावत्वात् स्वदुःखस्य स्वापराधनिमित्तत्वानुसंधानाच्च सर्वभूतानां परमपुरुषपरतन्त्रत्वानुसंधानाच्च सर्वभूतेषु वैरनिमित्ताभावात् तेषु निर्वैरः ।

2. Thus by मत्कर्मकृत् and मत्परमः karma yoga and Dhyana yoga which are the means of purifying the soul and of enabling it to attain true Self-realisation have been taught. By the word मद्भक्तः the secrets of the Upasana Kanda are referred to. By the word सङ्गवर्जितः absolute devotedness to God is emphasised. By निर्वैरः the realisation of the Universe as divinely sustained and ruled and guided and as the manifestation of divine love and unity is taught. Sri Nilakanta says in beautiful words: मदर्थमेव कर्माणि करोतीति मत्कर्मकृत् । अहमेव परमो निष्कलः प्राप्यो यस्येति स मत्परमः । एतेन कृत्स्नः कर्मयोगो ध्यानयोगश्च त्वंपदार्थशोधक उक्तः । मम आराधनकृदित्युपासनाकाण्डार्थसंग्रहः । सङ्गवर्जित इत्यनेन एकान्तभगवद्ध्याननिष्ठ इत्युक्तम् । निर्वैर इति विश्वं भगवदात्मना पश्येदित्युक्तम् । अन्यथा भेदबुद्धिमतो निर्वैरत्वासंभवात् । एवंभूतो यः स मां तत्पदलक्ष्यार्थभूतमखण्डानन्दैकघनमेति प्राप्नोति प्रत्यगभेदेन ॥

3. Sri Yamanucharya sums this 11th Chapter thus:

एकादशेऽस्य याथात्म्यसाक्षात्कारावलोकनम् ।
दत्तमुक्ताविदि प्राप्त्योर्भक्त्येकोपायता तथा ॥

(In the Eleventh Chapter the Lord gave the visioning and realisation of His true nature and taught devotion as the means of realising and attaining the Lord).

Literary and Educational.

Rural Education,

By P. PADMANABHA IYER.

Agriculture is one of the noblest of occupations. It is an industry, which aims at providing the maximum of wholesome nourishment to mankind so as to enable it to accomplish the necessary tasks of civilisation. Moreover, for no other industry can it be claimed that its complete and efficient practice involves almost every branch of science. Agriculture is the one industry of which, it may be said with confidence, that it will endure as long as the human race survives. Looking ahead some two or three thousand years when all the coal and petroleum in the world have been consumed, the human race would probably revert to the condition of an agricultural community.

It is a well-known fact that India is pre-eminently an agricultural country. Mr. W. H. Wolff in his excellent book on "Co-operation in India" says that India's vital nerve is agricultural. Agriculture is the mainstay of our people, supporting as it does directly by itself or indirectly by its subsidiary industries about two hundred and eighteen million souls. The system of education given should therefore be predominantly suitable to an agricultural community.

It is a fact which cannot be blinked that, in the past, the "townsman" had had things pretty much

his own way. The "countryman" has been largely ignored. Face to face with nature and the vagaries of the seasons, he puts little faith in rhetoric and is content to live his own life, 'far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife.' Consequently the educational policy of all states—India is not an exceptional case—has been formulated and carried on mainly, if not entirely, from the point of view of the urban community, though, in asmuchas the boarding system is practically unknown in the Indian Educational scheme, the urbanization of education is more pronounced here than in countries where large residential Educational Institutions are, for purposes of health, situated usually in absolutely rural conditions. The result could have been easily foretold. The agriculturist, who can afford to spend money on his son's education, does so only to discover that the learning they have acquired has made them essentially urban in their outlook and divorced them ruthlessly from rural matters and from their father's profession.

It is gratifying that there is a general desire to change all this. For one thing, the position of the farmer has received fuller recognition than ever before during the progress of the past titanic war. He is a person to be reckoned with in the body politic. As was sung by Thiruvalluvar in his *Kural* many years ago :—

"The ploughmen are the linch-pin of the world,
They bear them up who other works perform."

What then is the education best suited to the needs of the rural youth ? Is it to be *vocational*, or is it to be general, and aim at making the boy as far as possible able to hold his own in any walk of life ? It is round these points that the greatest discussion ranges. There is a consensus of opinion that specialisation *i.e.*, vocational education, should not take place at too early a stage, and that every boy should start with a common stock of knowledge to which can be super-added the special knowledge necessary to him as a carpenter, a doctor, or a farmer. But even here, the age at which the change is to be made excites considerable diversity of opinion.

There are those who say that agriculture cannot be taught as a subject at all, but must be picked up by the boy from actual experience. There are others who hold that the erection of a college, wherein the highest possible course in agriculure can be given, is a matter presenting no more difficulty than the construction of a bridge or the opening of a hospital. No doubt the contempt of the practical farmer for the half-baked product of the Agricultural school has, at times, been justified, but at the same time, it cannot be expected that such a *local* subject as agriculture can be taught without a fairly long period of local study.

The imparting of the highly technical course, which is being done in the Agricultural College, is undoubtedly the work of the Agricultural Department and is recognised as such in most countries. If the Agricultural Department were to take over the work of imparting general education with a rural bias in Elementary Schools, it would quickly swallow up the Education Department, so important is rural education going to become. Definitely Agricultural work should be its dominant object and it would be calamitous if the careful and painstaking investigation it is now pursuing and the researches which such investigation suggests were to be elbowed out for other tawdry lines of work.

It is a matter for extreme gratification that the Travancore Government has recently established an Agricultural School at Alwaye, which is solely intended for training youths for practical agriculture and which, it is said, does not allow appointment-seekers to contaminate its atmosphere and poison the minds of the innocent boys, who wish to develop into practical farmers. The medium of instruction is *Malayalam*. I learn that the opening of another agricultural school at Kottanakkara has been sanctioned. But the establishment of a large number of such institutions throughout the country requires considerable finance and a large and efficient staff of Agriculture diplomates.

One of the optional subjects for the school-leaving certificate examination in Vernacular Schools in Travancore is Agriculture. I have no hesitation in saying that it is productive of absolutely no good. Agricultural books are being misplaced in the hands of school boys and abused by teachers. If Moore's book on "Family Medicine" can be used as a text-book for preparing School Final candidates as doctors, then the teaching of agriculture as an optional subject for the School Final examination is justifiable. The school-masters who handle the subject are men who have had absolutely no training in scientific agriculture. It cannot be taught successfully in a class-room without facilities for field-work. Agricultural diplomates with a good trainers in teaching would prove excellent trainers of school masters of all grades.

The Education Department should insist upon every school to maintain a trim and tidy garden however small it may be. A good collection of vegetables and flowers in a neat little garden will surely make children observers, thinkers and experimenters. It was the observation of a happy-go-lucky youth that led to the great invention of steam-engines and ships.

An experiment with the an ordinary tea-kettle to demonstrate the property of water in its gaseous state will be more interesting and useful than an elaborate lesson on the capillarity and porosity of bodies to boys of the lower forms. Most of the machines and their parts are only imitations of the different parts of animals and plants. Various operations in agriculture, medicine and engineering are only imitated from nature. In short, all the arts, industries, and professions have been the outcome of observations of natural objects and phenomena. A lesson in a school garden showing the boys ordinary plants and animals and explaining to them how the hundreds of raw materials that are now used in Indian homes are derived from plants, animals or minerals would be more useful to an Indian boy than an elaborate lesson on the manufacture of soap and iron.

It will be interesting and edifying to ascertain what percentage of the pupils of an English High School can correctly assign the sources of such articles as, asafoetida, camphor, rubber, kerosine oil, silk, candle, glue, musk, glass, indigo, lime, sugar, quinine, precious stone, paper, &c. I know that, even among the so-called literary population, there is a fairly large number, who labour under the queer and quixotic notion that *asafoetida* is the coagulated blood of an animal that they could not name, that *camphor* is dug out of the earth, that *rubber* is the skin of the camel, that *kerosene oil* is extracted from some poisonous seeds, that coal is made by drying the skins of elephants, that *silk* is glazed cotton &c. &c. Would not the readers of the "Hindu Message" be surprised to hear that the students of an English School Final Class told their teacher that betel-leaves are produced by tall trees like coconut palms!

To dispel such colossal ignoronce among boys, to train them up as real lovers of plants and animals, to render it easy for them to choose their own professional studies, in short to enable them to fight out 'the breezy battle of life', I beg to map out the following scheme.

Every Government Training College and School should have a fairly large *model* garden. And all schools, departmental as well as private, should be compelled to maintain small and tidy gardens. Cience

and Nature-study syllabus should be so framed that lessons on them could be taught only in a school garden and never within the four walls of the school. It is hopelessly unnatural to study nature and its different phenomena in the artificial and cramping surroundings of a school. Laboratories are intended for conducting experiments based upon observations of the various natural phenomena. Students must therefore be made to observe nature first and initiate experiments later on. While they examine plants and animals, the teacher should indicate to them nothing more than the vernacular names they bear and the economic purposes which they subserve and allow them to find out the rest of the details for themselves gradually. The organic or inorganic origins of the hundreds of raw materials that are in daily use in our houses should be explained by a reference to the plants, animals, and minerals as far as possible and to their pictures in case they could not exist in the locality; and steps should be taken to see that all these are in constant view of the boys. Lessons on the properties of solids, liquids and gases and on the mechanical powers must be given in the garden itself, with illustrations chosen from the objects or phenomena occurring there. All the geometrical shapes and their measurements could be taught entirely in school gardens. A lesson in the garden on the different methods by which plants protect themselves from their enemies would be more interesting than that of nitro-bacteria in the school room. An illustrated lesson, showing how different climbers adapt themselves to climb up supports would be more suitable to the age and comprehension of the boys than a dictation of elaborate notes on the classification of soils and the methods of cultivating paddy and tapioca for getting them up by heart.

Examinations should not be conducted on paper. They should be held only in school gardens. If a school boy is able to separate sand, clay and the organic matter in the soil, even though he does not know the various ingrediants, and if he, without knowing the definitions of capillarity and porosity, shows, however, that water rises if a lump of clay is held over a basin of water just touching it, I would consider him a good budding scientist. In the ways pointed out above, boys should be introduced to scientific habits of study.

Agricultural diplomates with special training in Horticulture, Nature-Study, Elementary Science, and Teaching should be appointed in all Training Schools and Colleges with the prospects, which Assistant Inspectors of Schools enjoy at present. They should be in charge of *model* school gardens, equipped with all facilities for teaching Agriculture, Elementary Botany Zoology, Bacteriology, Meteriology, Physics, Geometry, and Mensuration. The gardens should be rendered fascinating and interesting by raising in them excellent specimens of cereals, pulses, vegetables, flowers and other economic and ornamental plants.

The subject of rural education is of such absorbing interest and is so very much before the public eye at this juncture that I trust the readers of the *Message* will bestow upon it the careful attention it so richly deserves. For myself—and I am not alone in this view—I believe that India will continue for years to come to be a predominently agricultural country. The war has, however, proved to us that it is foolish to drive this theory too hard and I expect a great future for India's development industrially, too. At any rate, the vast population being rural, every one of us should welcome rural education to children. It almost seems hackneyed to speak of the lack of intelligent observation in Indian children. I decidedly disagree with this view. If they appear to be so, I rather blame the training given than the children themselves. If the children in their early life are trained to take interest in the surroundings they live in and if they are taught to be interested in the plant and animal life of the village, I am full of hope and confidence that the future of the coming generation will be great and glorious.

The Decadence of Indian Arts and Art-Industries.

BY V. SUNDARAM AIYAR.

It is an indisputable fact that the gorgeous East has been famous for its Art which is even to-day the wonder of the modern civilised world. Its utility may be gauged from the fact that specimens of Eastern Art are adorning the numerous public halls of the West. Dazzled by the beauty of Indian Art, its charm and delicacy, Lord Curzon organised an Arts Exhibition at the Delhi Durbar when he truly remarked: "It is meant to show that India can still imagine, and create and do. It is meant to show that the artistic sense is not dead amongst its workmen but that all they want is stimulus and encouragemeut." The Rig Veda makes mention of the proficiency which the early Hindus attained in the industrial arts. Travellers in later times from Greece, Rome and China marvelled at the skill which the Indians displayed in their manufacturing industries. It is a well-known fact that muslins of the most delicate workmanship found their way from India to Persia, Arabia, Egypt and Rome. Art industries were exported through Indian, mercantile marine.

MOGHULS and INDIAN PAINTING.

Indian handicrafts did not suffer from the Mahamedan conquest; on the other hand, they enjoyed immense patronage at the hands of the Mahamedan rulers, particularly of Akbar. Though the art of painting was against the injunctions of Mohamedanism and was not, therefore, generally encouraged by the Mahamedan rulers, still the pictorial art was not without its patrons among them. Akbar, one of its greatest patrons, spoke very plainly about the unreasonable prejudice entertained by his co-religionists against the noble art remarking: "I do not like those people who hate painting. They ought to know that a painter has greater opportunities of remembering God, for however lifelike he makes a picture he knows that he cannot give it life and that He and He alone is capable of doing that." And history records that this Moghul Emperor had sixteen great artists in his Court of whom no less than twelve were Hindus. Portraits of Emperors, Empresses and other beauties of the Mahamedan Court and pictures of the chief buildings of Northern India like the Taj at Agra and the Jumma Musjid at Delhi were their favourite subjects. Specimens of these works are still preserved and valuable copy of *Razm Nanah* or the history of the Mahabharata containing 169 miniature illustrations exist in the Royal Library of Jaipore which cost more than £ 40,000.

ART INDUSTRIES IN ANCIENT INDIA.

The marked progress and greatness of a country and the civilisation it has attained can be adequately judged by the superiority of its arts and art-industries; and tested by this standard India developed a civilisation marvelled even by Egypt, Italy and Babylonia which gave Europe many lessons to learn and adapt. The clay figures of Krishnagar

which repeatedly gained medals and certificates in most of the International Exhibitions; the Architectural works such as at Jaipore, Kashmir, Chittoor Ajmere, Gwalior and Bharatpore; enamelled ware at Jhang, Bhawalpur, and Kangra; the Damascend works at Kotli Loharan, Gujerat and Bidar; ivory-carving at Murshidabad and Travancore; the pottery works at Khulna, Dinajpur, Rampur and Multan; the silk fabrics at Maldah, Pabna, Bogra, Murshidabad and Birbhum; dyeing and calico-printing, embroidery works and carpet making, all these found and enjoyed good market in the West.

Art and Divinity.

There is a vast difference between the beauty of Art as viewed from the West and from the East. Indian Art is synthesised in her philosophy which in its religious aspect regards all activities as means and aids in the perception of the true nature of man which it is the object of all true philosophy to elucidate. Its conscious aim is the portrayal of Divinity. But as Dr. Coomaraswamy says a common criticism of Indian Art is based on a supposed or real imitation of technical attainment in representation, essentially of the figure. The Doctor replies thus: "In part, it may be answered that so little is known in the West of the real achievement of Indian Art, that this idea may be allowed to die a natural death in the course of time; and in part that technical attainment is only a means not an end. There is an order of importance in things art means to us—first, what has the artist to say? and second only, Is his drawing satisfactorily accurate? But drawing is certainly not in itself desirable nor good drawing a misfortune; but strange as it may seem, it has always happened in the history of Art, that by the time the perfection of technique has been attained, inspiration has declined." The spiritual history of India has been closely connected with its Art and that Art has been handed down from generation to generation. Indian Art has a charm all its own and will continue to maintain its individuality, shaping the national life.

Friends of Indian Art.

For the past sixty years since the Government Schools of Art were established in India, the teaching in these institutions has been based upon an egregious fallacy that Indian Art has always belonged to a lower plane of aesthetic culture and that at least as regards the higher branches of Art, India provides models wholly inferior to those of Europe, for the education of the student. Of course, there are honourable exceptions, such as Sir George Birdwood whose writings contributed to make Indian Arts known among Europeans; Mr. Purdon Clarke who has forcibly drawn the attention of the English public to their unique style and beautiful workmanship; Sir Edward Buck who exerted to find a market for Indian goods both in England and abroad; Mr. E. B. Havell who realised the beauties of Indian Art and the creative powers of thought; and the Society for the Preservation and Encouragement of Indian Art.

Not Whole-Hearted Support.

The one act of Lord Curzon for which his rigime is famous is the passing of the Ancient Monuments Act of 1904 whose main objects are to ensure the conservation of old buildings in private ownership, excepting those in use for religious purposes; to prohibit the excavation of ancient sites by ignorant and unauthorised persons; and to control the traffic in moveable antiquities by preventing their exportation from British India. The passing of the Act was accompanied by a re-organisation of the Archaeological Department by which it was for the first time placed on a firm administrative footing with a consistent policy and a systematic programme. But the Act has not provided any encouragement and support towards the promotion and development of Indian Art and art-industries. Mr. Havell rightly remarks: "We, a nation whose æsthetic understanding has been deadened by generations of pedantry and false teaching, have done all that indifference and active philistinism could do to suppress the lively inborn artistic sense of the Indian peoples. All that recent Indian administrations have done to support and encourage Art is but a feather in the scale against the destructive counter-influences, orginating in times less sympathetic to Indian Art, which have been allowed to continue under their authority."

Art And Nationalism

Indian Art and art-industries are in a state of decadence. Art cannot flower in barren soil; the imitative tendency has given a set-back to its progress. With the growth of Indian nationalism must come the regeneration of Indian Art and art-industries. The future we are moulding now, and it is our duty that we should enrich, not destroy the inheritance that is not India's alone, but the inheritance of Humanity.

Miscellaneous.

Some Letters of Mahtma Gandhi.

Translated into English by A. Rama Iyer, M.A.

(*continued.*)

5

(To Manilal)

Now you have come to a stage when you can read such books with deep thought. In every book there is (and will be) some defect or other. It is impossible but that the character of the writer should be reflected in the book that he writes, and hence no book written by a human being can ever be perfect. It is your duty, therefore, to take in the good points of the books that you read, just as we reject the chaff and take only the grain. And this can be easily done if you cultivate the habit of serious and independent reflection.

With blessings,

....

6

.........You say that my soul can do things which yours cannot, as if there is any difference between the two. I assure you that your soul will be quite as good as mine, when you have got rid of such weaknesses as cowardice, doubt and fickleness which hamper its development. I have established some *ashrams* with great labour, but with courage and perseverance you can establish even more *ashrams* than I.

7

......This is the state at present. Even if the whole werld is to stand in opposition to what I have said, I shall not despair. I do no say this as a boast, but it is the bare truth. We do not aspire to purify all India, but simply to purify ourselves. This is the only ambition that we ought to cherish; all else is mere vanity.....

8

......There is not the slightest sense in maintaining that all that is, is right, or that all that our ancestors have done is right. Such a belief is, in fact, a crime against our soul. Most old things are indeed right, but there is often a mixture of falsehood in ancient forms of truth, just as fire is most often accompanied by smoke. And real knowledge consists in being able to separate what is true from what is false ....Perhaps the hardest thing of all in this world is to destroy the craving for sensual pleasures, and especially to conquer the sexual instinct. As you are striving in this direction, you must succeed sooner or later. Success will certainly come to you if you persist in your purpose with a single mind........

9

(To Manilal)

......You are quite right in telling me the faults that you find. It is my wish that we should fix our eyes more on the merits of men than on their faults. As we are all so imperfect and faulty, we should make it a point to find out the virtues of all men that we come in contact with, and dwell on them to the exclusion of their vices. This is a habit which can be acquired by practice. But so long as you have not got into this habit, you may freely speak out the faults you find......

What cannot be cured must be endured. It is no use fretting over the inevitable. Your mind will be happy so long as you do your duty faithfully. Some people think, "we are doing our duty, but what will be the fate of those who suffer in the world?"; it seems to me that even this thought bespeaks a kind of vanity.

With blessings,

BAPU.

10

7—8—1909

I was much pleased to go through your letter. I know that most people in India have not yet understood the significance of this struggle. From this it is clear that the secret of Soul-Force which our ancients knew quite well, has been lost to us at present......The Soul-force that I am speaking of has nothing to do with going to the temple and such other external forms. Very often, indeed, these are even *opposed* to Soul-Force .....The practice of Truth and Fearlessness is the first step in the acquisition of this Force.

With blessings,

....

11

(To Manilal) 10—8—1909

......It is well that a son has been born to K—, but you know my views in this matter, and I cannot help feeling some sorrow also. Considering the condition of our country today, it seems to me that only a few of us should marry. Marriage is a sacrament of deep significance. The man who marries for mere sensual enjoyment is to my mind worse then a brute. Our *dharmasastras* also have laid down that the only purpose of sexual intercourse should be the birth of a child. Viewed from this standpoint, we have to say that the children born now-a-days are the fruit of mere sensual indulgence, and this is the reason why they turn out moral and spiritual zeroes......

With blessings,

BAPU.

The Akali Struggle

By T. V. V.

The Bureaucracy, it is needless to point out, has, for some time past, been riding out for a fall. It has been endeavouring its utmost, to throttle the Akali movement in the Punjab. Ever since the inception of that movement, the Government of India have been ill at ease. They have been waiting for some opportunity or other to crop up, in order to strangle that organisation. The new organisation has been considered as it were, a menace to the very existence of the Bureaucracy. Naturally, therefore, with its instinctive desire for self-preservation, it is expcted to take up the position it has taken up with regard to this movement. No wonder then that the course of events have reached the developments that they have during the past week. The Government of India sent in anything that the Akalis may say, or do, or even be remotely connected with, the seeds of enmity and sedition. In fact they have been evidently paving the way for another Sikh war and the results thereof we see to-day in the "Land of the five Rivers"

The Government of India have now come out into the open in all their nakedness. They have been hitherto sitting on the safety-valve; that has now been opened and there is the Punjab blazing with fire. Red ruin is staring the country and, we dare say it is only a repetition of the Martial Law days of the Punjab. While the lacerated hearts of the thousands of Punjabis, who have lost their kith and kin in the days of the Martial Law atrocities, have not yet been soothed any the least, we see this new though not unexpected blow at the growth of the Punjabi into National manhood. What atrocities in the name of Law and order were perpetrated during the Martial Law regime of 1919, we have not yet forgotten. While that is so here comes another catastrophe. Punjab is already laid low in the dust, bleeding from her very heart. How then is she going to survive this fresh attack from the enemey. According to an old proverb, even as the stricken foot only is injured again and again, so the family that is already in trouble gets again into trouble. That is exactly the case with the Punjab now.

The Government attack on the Sikh movement has been many-sided. Even so early as the beginnings of the movement, when it had organised itself on secure foundations, we saw that the Government of India began to exhibit their hostile attitude towards the movement by its wanton attack on the Akalis at Gurukabagh. The Sikhs who had gone there to maintain their religious rights were most brutally handled; they were assaulted and seriously injured, by the Police and Military guards stationed by the Government with a view to obstruct their reaching Gurukabagh. When these attacks with batons and sticks proved of no avail, thousands of Akalis were day in and day out arrested and thrown into Jail. This outrage marked the first phase of the struggle. In the end the Government had to capitulate and yield. They gracefully surrendered Gurukabagh to the Management of Shiromani Prabhandak Committee and got out of a nasty situation that they had created for themselves.

But as we have already indicated, the Government of India are it would appear, bent upon crushing this attempt of the Akalis at organising themselves. As a second stage in the struggle, the Government provoked the peaceful Akalis by deposing Maharajah Ripudaman Singh of Nabha. It must be mentioned that according to the treaties contracted between the British Government and the Phulkian States of the Punjab, the former have no right whatsoever to depose a Sikh Chief. This fundamental term of agreement, the Government of India have transgressed in treating the Ruler of Nabah in the way in which he has been treated. Such a a cruel outrage on the part of His Excellency Lord Reading's Government, in depriving a Sikh Rajah of his kingdom was bound to react on the wounded feelings of the Akalis as it has actually done. The Akalis consider this action of the Government of India as a direct affront on their Religious sentiments, Their tenth Guru is attributed to have said to the Ruler of Nabha "Your house is my house." Consequently, this injury to the House of Nabha, they consider as an injury inflicted on their Guru's House itself.

The Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandak Committee and Akali Dal naturally took up the challenge offered by the Government of India. They entered the lists. Armed with the forces of Ahimsa and Satyagraha the Akalis began to oppose a Government armed with all the brutal implements of modern warfare. Government, we have more than once pointed out, were marshalling their forces against this religious and patriotic organisation of the Sikh Community. Their next attack on the movement was therefore to declare the organisation—the S. G. P. C. and not only the Akali-Dal,—as unlawful assemblies. The very fact of being a member of the S. G P. C. was enough to provoke the bureaucracy. every member thereof was liable to prosecution under the Criminal Law but even those who subscribed to its funds. The first Committee was thus arrested on the 13th of October 1923. But another Committee sprung up to take its place, and this of course upset the Bureaucracy. The consequence was the 2nd Committee also was ordered to be arrested. While the Committee was holding its sittings in the Sri Tkal Akhat at Amritsar, Government sent their mounted Police and Military to effect their arrest. It was a religious law among the Sikhs that no man with his symbols of vain authority should profane the sacred precincts of the Akali Takhat which was considered the holiest of holy places among them. When therefore the Police tried to force into the Akali Takhat, thousands of Akalis rushed to the place and offered themselves to die rather than allow their holy place to be desecrated. That was the second phase in the struggle.

Since then thousands of Akalis have been offering themselves for arrest. At Bhai Pheru more than 1250 Akalis have been hitherto arrested. At Jaito the Government have precipitated the third and the most tragic phase of the struggle. It was announced that a Jatha of 500 were to reach Jaito—which is within the Nabha State—on the 21st instant. The Administrator of Nabah in the meanwhile was busy with his preparations to obstruct the progress of the Jatha. When the Jatha actually reached the boundarieis of the State, it was presumably warned not to proceed. It is easy to imagine the rest. The Jatha quite naturally disregarding the warning, the Police must have opened fire. The Government report states that the Akalis were the first to open fire. Knowing as we do that the Sahida Jatha proceeded on its march after taking in the Akali Takhat at Amritsar the most solemn vows to observe strict non-violence, it is hard to believe that version. On the other hand the antecedents of the Government lend credence to the belief that the Government have to shoulder the entire blame in the matter. Besides 14 killed and fifty casualities we have as yet been unable to get any other information. The Administrator of Nabha has by stringent regulations left no chance for any reliable news to "trickle down to the world outside." Even the harmless reporter of an American Newspaper—Mr. Zimand of the "New York Times" has been shut out. The Nabha Administrator is nothing if not perfect in his Czardom.

Dr. Kitchlew and Acharya Gidwani have both been taken into custody. That was all to be expected. The Doctor has been known to be the power behind the movement—the tower of strength on which the Akalis were relying for their springs of action, of courage and inspiration. That he was also preparing himself for the sacrifice was for sometime past only too well known. The wonder is that it did not come about earlier. Acharya Gidwani has been guilty of sending information bulletins to an outside public eager to know what was really taking place in those territories. With the arrest of the Acharya the authorities could secure their idea of keeping those outside entirely in the dark. Besides what could be gathered from a maze of conflicting reports, and the mendacious Government communiques the public at large will be able to get at little or no information regarding the Punjab.

With the opening of this, perhaps, the last phase in the struggle, the Akali agitation has reached a proportion which cannot have failed to attract the attention of even the most moderate among Indian politicals. The fact that two members of the Legislative Assembly—Messers Shanmukham Chetty and Lala Hansraj—were most unceremoniously turned out by Mr. Wilson Johnston, the Administrator of Nabha State, has got its own moral to point out. Will the Nation rise equal to the occasion and accept the challenge that the Government have offered? It is up to the Nation to gather all its forces and offer battle to the Bureaucracy on this issue of the Akali struggle and crush the unbending Government. With Mahatma Gandhi in our midst once again, we are sure that victory is ours, if only we act up to his doctrine of Ahimsa and offer Satyagraha.

The Root of the Matter.

The time has arrived when, in respect of all questions vitally affecting us, we must make it a point to go to the root of the matter. We have lost by accepting things at their face value, and the most serious matter about the loss has been this that it has appeared to us as gain. This is due to three causes which have operated practically throughout human history, but have perhaps been never so patent in their influence as to-day. First, there is organised hypocrisy. There are many things in which we do not believe ourselves or about which we are not sincere ourselves, and which we yet seek to impose on others. Then, there is massed delusion. We are deluded about the realities of life; we have no correct or adequate appreciation of the values of the principles and methods of life. Lastly, there is wholesale confusion. Our minds are in an unsettled condition, our thoughts chaotic and beliefs lukewarm, in respect of many things: we neither see nor are we convinced. We are in many cases, mistaking the false for the true, the passing for the abiding, the bad for the good to-day, partly because we are insincere in spirit, partly because we are deluded in perception, and partly because we are confused in thought to-day. At the root of all these three again, there is, as the ancients had found out, ignorance of the Self. The insincere man would keep other men in delusion, from considerations of self because in reality, he is in delusion himself about the real value of the Self—a delusion which, in the beautiful working of the law of action and re-action, proves his own snare. The prescription of the old doctors, accordingly, was for the whole malady this: Know Thyself— *Atmanam Viddhi*. *That* was believed to be the root of the matter. It was believed that we can heal ourselves by knowing ourselves. The root of the matter must be sought to-day as regards all the institutions of civilized life and problems arising out of them. Ailing humanity needs to-day a searching of the heart, a probing to the core. Well-being, merely simulated, will not for long make us feel that all goes well with us.

How, for example, shall we accept some of the most current coins of civilization? How, for instance, should our vaunted "Progress" be rated? We lack a correct appreciation of its value today because of the working of the three factors before alluded to. Some of us know that it is not progress, and yet would deliberately seek to make others believe it is so; because, rightly or wrongly, we think that the keeping up of the present show will profit *us*—that our hope of gain lies in our being able to exploit the weakness and ignorance of others who may be deluded into believing what we do not ourselves believe. The present-day captains of large capital have become, for example, by reason of this show being kept up, a privileged class possessing the centres of power all over the world; *their* interests are very considerably the interests of governments; their wishes the laws of the people; their machinations diplomacies; their aggression war, and their compact, treaty. Their interests are, accordingly, so deeply vested in, and so largely identified with, the existing order of things, that they act purely out of self-defence when they try to produce and maintain a general mentality in the world serviceable to their interests, and resist all suggestions of a radical change being wrought in that mentality, or in the world situation for the matter of that. With Governments carrying out their behests, with the press and the platform acting as their megaphones, with art, science and literature so often

postituting themselves to their ends, it is no wonder that they have so long and so successfully made society run on its present lines, and hypnotised peoples with the suggestions that *such* running is progress. The result has been not merely in practice but even in feeling, that people who befriend this small privileged class consider themselves the friends of progress and decry those that are opposed to this class, or even those who want simply to walk with straight backs, as enemies of progress. There does not appear to prevail anywhere a disposition to look narrowly into the foundations of the whole question, and test them with a view to finding out in them the part that is durable and the part that is not. And why do we put up with all this show? Some of us, because the show profits us; others, because they do not suspect that it is a show and a sham; and all because the show, having once been started, sweeps everything by its momentum

"Progress", develops a tendency to compel, leaving little or no rom for choice. Even the all-powerful power-holders have themselves been caught up by the machinery they have been instrumental in making and starting, and they could not arrest the "progress" of the steam-roller even if they wished it. They have been enslaved by their own engine of exploitation, They could not prevent "industrial development," exploitation, war etc., to-day even if in thhir heart of hearts they wanted to turn over a new leaf on the morrow. In fact, we must now really discriminate between men as identified with a given machinery and men apart from that machinery. Britishers, for example, have in India to work a certain machinery of administration which we are now accustomed to call the white bureaucracy. As identified with that machinery, they bear a certain character derived from the character of the machine itself—a character which Mr. Montagu, when not in high office, had condemned as "too wooden, too inelastic," and which Mr. Montagu's Chief in office, praised as the highly tempered "steel frame" of the Indian Government. The circumstance of being "in office" or being "out of office" makes a world of difference. A man, or body of men, harnessed to office, becomes part of a machine over which, as a whole, only a semblance of control can commonly be exercised; so that it may be really unfair to expect persons in office to redeem the "pledges" they might have given while out of office. To-day the Labour Party has come into power in England. *As* that party, they represent of course certain principles of social, political and economic rearrangement in the world. They undoubtedly have, and profess to leave, an intelligible programme of their own. But by actually coming into power, that party has to-day become part of a certain machinery which the existing social, economic and political order of Great Britain and Europe stands for. Politically, for example, they have to work through a more or less rigid British "constitution." Hence, as a practical politician Mr. MacDonald was almost bound to say what he did say the other day —that though his thought had often been out in the dreamland, he and his party were not going to "jump" there. His message to the "*Hindu*" was a necessary outcome of a man "in office," a man more or less enslaved by a constitution, and by the assemblage of conditions in which he has found himself, He simply cannot keep now all those fine engagements he had made as a gentleman not saddled with office. His accepting office means his being determined by the whole British system of political, social and industrial life as it prevails to-day at "home" or abroad. Without outgrowing or overcoming this *system* as a whole, Mr. MacDonald and his Cabinet cannot expect to be able to initiate or carry out any policy of truly radical reform, whether at "home" or abroad. The Britirh Parliament being what it is, and British interests at home and abroad being what they are, the Labour Secretary of State's imagination in matters of Indian reform can hardly be expected to soar much above Royal Commissions being sent out to India for "enquiry and report:" and, it remains to be seen whether in the eyes of the Labour Colonial Office, the Kenya White Paper will look any the less white because of the racial distinctions the paper may havn sought to perpetuate. The Labour Government is thus, very substantially, though not avowedly, an organ, a tool of a particular system of national life and international attitude which prevail today in the West generally, and in the British Empire in particular. This, in fact, is the practical meaning of "responsibility" into which the Labour Party has now stepped Commonly there can be no escape from this "responsibility"—this slavery to a certain system of life now holding itself together in the West in spite of wars and revolutions.

India too has to-day found herself under this steam-roller of "Progress." She too has "improvised" a system, partly like and partly unlike that of Europe, which imparts a particular character and complexion to those who may be working the system; and it must be remembered that character *cannot* be changed simply by changing the complexion white into brown. Real Indian Swaraj in order to be established, will require a radical change being produced, not merely in the Indian condition, but in that of the world generally. It is plain that such greatness cannot be thrust upon us from outside by the British Parliament; it must be evolved and it can evolve, completely and perfectly, only if India and the world also make up their minds to go to the root of the matter in dealing with all the problems of life, social, economic, political and cultural. And when the roots have been found, the only condition necessary is—faith and courage.

The labour movement in the West is undoubtedly an effort to redirect "Progress" in so far as it is a revolt against the unbridled abuses of the individualistic, tendencies there; wealth, privilege and power have accumulated in the hands of the few; industries have been monopolized; and socialism aims at the destruction of those monopolies. It aims at a just and equitable distribution of wealth. *There* it would bring about a radical change of the existing state. But what about the production of wealth? Has it as yet a vision of the evils of modern industrialism as such? Has it as yet a perception of the truth that so long as "wealth" continues to be produced as it is now being produced, and produced on such a colossal scale and by such titanic appliances the change effected in the condition of society will not mean much and come to much, merely if the State takes over the charge of the production and distribution of wealth instead of individuals as now. The evils of modern industrialism has to be recognised quite as much perhaps in the production of modern industries as in their distribution, so that a treatment which seeks to cure it in distribution only, will fail to cure it in reality. Hence the socialistic programme will fail to affect a radical cure, failing as it does to go to to the *vital* root of the matter.

Progress, Civilization, Democracy, Culture—all these require now to be re-understood. It is certain that much of what is to-day passing under these names has no rightful title to these names being given to them. Progress, for example, is not progress; and democracy is not democracy, to-day. As we pointed out before, some of us may know, negatively at least, that the present order is *not* an order making for human liberty and blessedness and yet we take every case to conceal the fact from others who do not see it themselves; and not only do we conceal it, but we take good care that the fact may seem virtually otherwise to them. Many of us are, on the other hand, under a delusion which will not allow us to discover the truth for ourselves. All of us—whether we are exploiters or the exploited—are perhaps equally helpless so far as the present system or machinery is concerned. Not being able to change it, we are caught in it, and move with it, and grind—some of us as the "upper stone" perhaps, and the rest as the lower. Constituted as we are, there seems to be a certain air of inevitableness about all this grim business. And yet this system

Continued on page 141.

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